2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

1. The Tribal System in North Albania

The tribal system seems to be a social stage through which mankind normally passes. Within historic times Europe was a welter of tribes, from which in the course of years have been evolved the present "Powers"—Powers which themselves are compounded each of several racial elements and whose frontiers are in a constant state of flux.

In Europe it is only in the Balkan peninsula that the tribal system survived intact into the twentieth century. The Great War has broken up the last tribe lands of Europe—Montenegro and North Albania; and as I lived for some time in each previous to the catastrophe, it seems worth while to record all the details I managed to collect about these interesting relics of a distant past.

The Balkans were tribal in Herodotus's day. Strabo (*ob.* A.D. 25) gives a clear account of the Illyrian and Epirotic tribes who is his time dwelt on the east coast of the Adriatic and had recently been subdued by Rome. "The Istri," says he, "are the first people on the Illyrian coast contiguous to Italy and the Carni. The present government has advanced the limits of Italy to Pola, a city of Istria." Now again, 1,900 years later, Italy has "advanced her limits"—and included Pola, and hankers after other districts which Strabo describes as under Roman rule. "Next come the Japodes, who are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus . . . the country is poor and the people live mainly on spelt and millet. Their armour is of the Celtic fashion. Their bodies are punctured like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people." Next come the Liburnians with a city Scardona and a navigable river (the Kerka), and then the "coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal Salona. They were long at war with the Romans and had fifty considerable settlements, some of which had the rank of cities. Augustus burnt them down . . . then follows the river Narenta, and the peoples of the neighbourhood are the Duorizi, Ardæi, and Pleraii. . . . The Romans drove the Ardæi into the interior because the coast was infested by their piracies, and forced them to cultivate the land. But, as the country was barren, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to neighbouring nations. People once very powerful are now extinct or

175 reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani
105 among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

101 "Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

174 This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still
622 found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe
623 still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

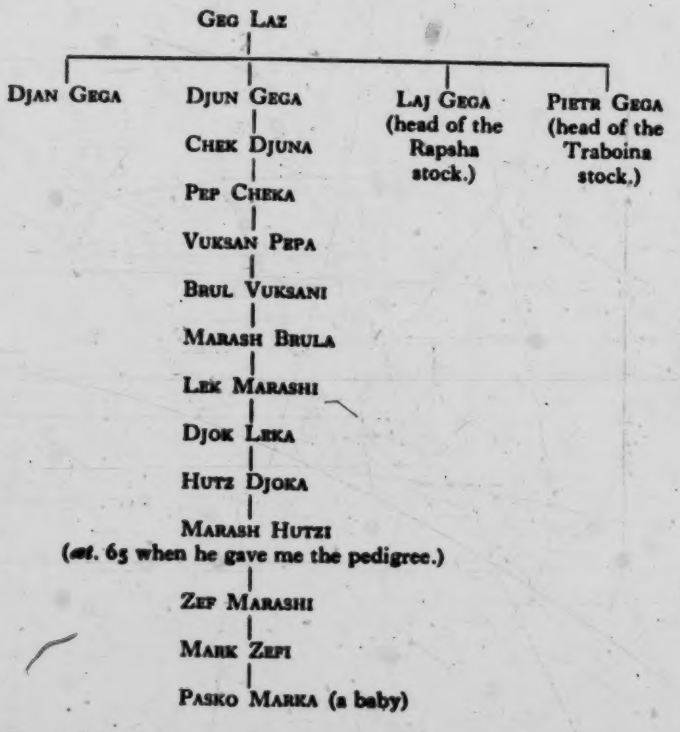
The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

me not to give him more than his share. One of the Franciscans gave him shelter, for he was generally beloved, but he did not survive the winter. I mourned him at the time, but was later glad that he had died before his beloved tribe was handed to the enemy. The name "Hoti" is older than the arrival of Geg Laz. Jirecek, quoting the Venetian archives, states that the Hoti ("montanea Ottanorum") allied itself in 1474 with Ivan Tzrnojevitch and fought the Turks. The "Anas" must then have been numerous.



The tribe of Nikaj (see below) is also related to Hoti. Marash Hutzi said that Nikaj descends from a son of Krasnich. Baron Nopcsa learnt from another quarter that Nik was another brother of Geg Laz. That they are related is clear, for they are not intermarriageable.

Hoti usually marries the neighbour tribe Kastrati. As Kastrati mainly marries Hoti, after so many generations the two must be very closely related. But old Marash was extremely proud of the strict exogamy of the tribe. To marry "one's own blood" he looked on with unspeakable horror. I asked how many generations must pass before the descendants

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

648 and priests, which have not been interfered with, the Jugoslav Govern-
779 ment has tried to plant a Serb bishop in Scutari on their behalf. They should be exchanged for some Albanians in Serb territory. The whole of the Maltsia e Madhe district is included in the diocese of Scutari.

There is a sprinkling of Serb place-names in the district, but most of them are Albanized, showing how, on the retreat of Serb rule, the older race reasserted itself.

3. The Pulati Group

175 Polati, Pilot, Pulati occurs as the name of a large mountain district
794 and as a bishopric at an early date.[1] In 877 a bishop of Polati is mentioned by the Council of Delmitano. Then Pope Alexander II, in a letter written to the Archbishop of Antivari in 1062, puts Pulati and its bishop under his care. Towards the end of that century Antivari, owing doubtless to the growing power of the Serbs, ceased to be an archbishopric, though it was still a bishopric, and Pulati is mentioned by Callixtus II in 1121 as under the Archbishop of Ragusa. In 1251 the Archbishopric of Antivari was restored, and Pulati again mentioned as under Antivari. Between 1372 and 1421 is a gap in which Farlati tells us that Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh, "vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty." No bishop is then mentioned. The Church was kept alive by the Franciscans, who faced danger and hardship in the mountains. Again, under the Turks, extreme misery is mentioned, and bishops are intermittent. It was reported that here were then still some twenty thousand Catholics. But, in spite of missionary effort, the Church almost lapsed. In 1653 Marcus Crisius traversed Pulati and reported: "It is incredible how ignorant the people now are of religion." Up till 1520 there were two bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores, and Pulatenses Minores. To Pulati Minor bishops were appointed from 1345 to 1520; then the two dioceses were united. It appears that it was hard to find men to accept the post, and some of those who did, broke down under the difficulties. Thus Bishop Serafinus, who learnt Albanian and worked very hard, had to retire through illness. Even though the Church of St. Nikola, at Ghoanni, "was rebuilt in 1703 more elegantly and larger and is called a cathedral," it was a humble enough edifice.

In *Illyricum Sacrum* (1817) a contemporary account mentions that Pulati is in the deepest recesses of the roughest mountains; that it

[1] *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia*, and Farlati.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population).

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

THE POSTRIPA GROUP

619 175 Postripa is obviously a name bequeathed by the Romans. It consists of five tribes, all included in the Diocese of Pulati. Much of Postripa is Moslem, for it was quarrelled about by several bishops. In 1702 Pope Clement XI, who was of Albanian blood on his mother's side, sent Vicentius Zmajevitch as Visitator Apostolicus, who reported among other lamentable things that three bishops were all claiming Postripa, and that meanwhile the people are left "without leader or shepherd, like a scattered flock subject to oppression and persecution."

In Postripa are included five tribes:—

619 175 614 1. *Mazreku.*—A small Catholic tribe. That the place was in ancient days a centre of civilization is shown by the considerable ruins of an abbey, Shenkol Shati, believed to have belonged to the Benedictines and to be the one mentioned by several ancient writers as not far from Scutari. It is now lost in a tangle of trees and brushwood. There is [784] a strong feeling throughout Albania against felling trees on the spot where a church once existed—a feeling that probably goes back to the very ancient days of sacred groves. The abbey presumably fell into ruin when the Serbs seized the district in the Middle Ages. The hatred [798] of the Serb Orthodox for the Catholics was shown in 1913 in the Balkan War, when the Montenegrin troops, whose object was said to be "to liberate Christians," fell upon the little church of Mazreku, trampled the Host under foot, dressed up in the priestly vestments, danced about, and amused themselves by cutting off the noses from images of the saints and firing bullets into the crucifix.

2. *Drishti.*—A small Moslem tribe that was almost annihilated in 1913 by the Montenegrins. Drishti is the site of the ancient city of Drivasto, in ancient days a bishopric, mentioned as early as 877. The town was entirely destroyed by the Turks, who beheaded the leaders before the walls of Scutari—then too besieged—in order to terrify the Scutarines into submission. The wasted spot was afterwards settled by incomers from the neighbourhood of mixed origin. And in the period when three bishops were quarrelling for Postripa the Drishti folk all turned Moslem.

3. *Shlaku.*—A tribe of one bairak on the right bank of the Drin, in a [779] very poor district. It is all Catholic and traces origin from Toplana (*q.v.*).

4. *Dushmani.*—A Catholic tribe of two bairaks—Temali and Dushmani. Dushmani takes its name from a chieftain family which ruled here. In 1403 "Goranimus, Damianus, and Nenada, brothers Dusmani, Lords of Polati Minor," offer themselves as subjects to Venice and swear fidelity on condition that Venice will guarantee them in possession

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

[173]

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

[173]

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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SECTION II

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

1. Strabo and the Ancient Tribes. The Coming of the Slav

As we have seen, Strabo (*ob. c.* A.D. 20), in his detailed account of the Balkan tribes of his day, tells us in the fragmentary account of Dodona that "Among the Thesprotæ and the Molotti the persons who hold office are called Peligones, as among the Macedonians." Also that "most of the tribes were governed by native princes."

In most parts of the world the tribe, with a chieftain and a council of headmen, has existed or exists. The North Albanian tribes, when I visited them, were the last tribes in Europe to preserve autonomy.

The governing councils consisted of elders—"plaki," an old man ("pleknit," plural). The idea of administration of law is so closely connected with old age that "to arbitrate" is "me plechnue," and "plechni" means both "seniority" and "arbitration."

The resemblance between Strabo's word "peligones" and the modern Albanian terms is so striking as to suggest that the Albanian "plak, plaku, pelaku" (all variations of the same word) are in fact Strabo's "pelig," that "ones" is merely an added termination, and that both custom and name have survived uninterruptedly. We need not doubt that under Roman rule the tribal system continued just as it does to-day in Africa under the British Empire.

The Serbs, we are told, were also tribal, but of this there is little information. One of the earliest contemporary accounts of their irruption into the Balkan peninsula is that of John of Ephesus, who says: "This same year, the third after the death of Justin (A.D. 574), was famous for the invasion of the accursed people called Slavonians. . . . And four years have now elapsed and still, because the Emperor is engaged in war with the Persians, they live at their ease in the land, and spread far and wide, and ravage and burn, and take captives. . . . They have ridden even to the walls of the town (Byzantium) and driven away the Emperor's horses—many thousand—and even to this day they still dwell free of care or fear and lead captive, slay, and burn, and have now grown rich in gold and silver and herds of horses, and have learned to fight better than the Romans, though at first they were rude savages and did not dare show themselves outside the forests and coverts of

3: Redlich
175

EGl Albania EGl

[For history of Albania from the time of Illyria to the abortive revolution of 1924, see category 116, pp. 8-11, 14-15, 17-27, 29-67.]

Ancient Albania

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

144 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from the Hellenes as the Albanians are from the modern Greeks. The Greek writers of ancient times referred to them as a Pelasgic race, or, in other words, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.

The Pelasgian Zeus has his memory, even today, in their language, for we find the Albanian word for God is "Zoti." A minute's examination of the term "Gheg" and "Tosk", reveals that they are identical with "Truscus" or "Etruscus," while the form "Tyrrhenus" perhaps survives in Tirana, the capital of the Kingdom of Albania, as no other explanation for the derivation of the name of the city can be found.

618 These Pelasgians formed a cluster of rude,
619 rough, highland clans, very similar to those of the Highlanders of Scotland a hundred and fifty years ago, brave, illiterate and essentially barbarian in character. Oftimes these clans and tribes were banded together in an independent government of a tribal sort. They even went farther and coalesced into little
• 175 kingdoms of greater or lesser extent. In the times of the successor of Alexander the Great, Epirus made considerable progress in civilization, and its kings exerted no small degree

ANCIENT ALBANIA

of influence in the affairs of state of Eastern Europe. Pyrrhus, one of the last of these kings, was a man of the greatest ability and made an illustrious name for himself because of his learning and his statescraft, and, moreover, augmented the glory of his nation by reason of his executive ability. Among the bravest of brave, Pyrrhus did not hesitate to cross the Adriatic to aid in the defense of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, Magna Craecia; neither did he hesitate to grapple with the rising power of Rome, and as a result, winning a prominent place for himself among the great commanders of the world.

In the year 168 before Christ, the Romans wreaked a terrible vengeance on Epirus, destroying seven towns and reducing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants to slavery. This was the only time in the history of the race that the Epirots were ever thoroughly sudbued. But even the Roman conquest wrought little change in their social customs. They still retained their own language, national customs and usages, and withal, remained a distinct and peculiar people.

The question as to whether the Albanians are genuine Epirots and Illyrians or a new people formed by large and repeated infusions

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the Illyrians has its modern counterpart in the marked distinction between the Northern and Southern Albanians. For, as is brought to the attention of the traveller through Albania, there is a most evident dissimilarity between these two peoples. Yannina, or, more correctly speaking, Ioannina, was the capital of Epirus, while Scutari—in Albanian language Shkodra—was the seat of the Northern Province.

In the course of her long history, Albania has been invaded by countless civilized, half-civilized and barbaric peoples. The Greeks colonized a part of the Illyrian seaboard probably in the latter half of the seventh century. The most important of these settlements were Epidamnus (Durazzo or Durrës in Albanian language) and Salona (near Spalato). Greek inscriptions and pottery have been excavated by archaeologists. However, Greek influence never penetrated into the interior. These colonies were superceded by the Latins about three hundred years before Christ. The Spartans and Athenians were the next to come into conflict with the Illyrians. In the beginning of the fourth century the Celts invaded Albania. The Gauls, the Goths, the Romans, the Slavs, the Venetians, and, finally, the Turks

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1
Ancient Albania

177 successively invaded and obtained, for a time
175 at least, a mastery over Albanian territory. But, watching the parade of the centuries down the corridors of time, we note with admiration that always Albania drove out or assimilated her invaders; perhaps conquered but invincible in her national individuality. So powerful the characteristics, so indelible the traditions, so adamant the customs, so appreciated the language of the Albanians that no remnant, not even the slightest trace of the numerous invasions can be found in Albanian life today.

000 The Albanian people, then, present the unique and impressive phenomenon of a continuous national existence, which had its beginning many centuries before the coming of Christ and which has its integral life even at the present time.

173 plans, he immediately assumed command of a renewed effort to acquire Albanian independence. This courageous leader was seized by the Turks and sent into exile at Constantinople, and he was succeeded in command by his son, Xhemal Pasha Zogu, who succeeded in clearing Mati of the invaders. It was to this ruler of Mati that a son was born on October 8, 1895—a son that was to prove a redeemer of the people for whom his ancestors had so bravely laid down their lives, and whose name is Ahmed Bey Zogu, the present King of the Albanians.

This powerful ruling dynasty, uninterrupted through the generations, had continued as the hereditary princes of Mati since the fifteenth century, and under whose untiring vigilance the Turks were never able to set foot into this part of the country. A council of elders, presided over by the head of the house of Zogu, shaped the destinies of the warrior-natives according to the *Kanun i Lek Dukagjinit*, the old law of the Albanian mountaineers collaborated in the course of the centuries.

• 175 Ahmed Bey Zogu's father died in 1908, in Ahmed's thirteenth year, during which time

the youth had remained in his native mountains, learning the invaluable lessons of wisdom taught by Mother Earth. At the death of his father, Ahmed being too young to assume the guidance of his people, his mother, Sadié, mentioned in a later chapter, with her amazing character and unfaltering judgment, with which her son is endowered, continued, as the rulers of Mati had done heretofore, to retain her people's independence and closely-knit union while her young son was studying and developing his clear-sightedness and exceptional will-power, first as a student of the Page Institute of Galata Serail and later at the Officer's Academy in Constantinople. Young Zogu remained in Constantinople until rumours of the impending Balkan war caused him to return in haste to his native land. War clouds were indeed darkening the horizon, filling Albania with great anxiety as to her future. The blow fell in 1912, when the Balkan war broke out.

Impelled by the fiery enthusiasm and optimism of his seventeen years, the young ruler of Mati marshaled his people and rushed to Scutari which was besieged by the Serbs. It was only after losing 200 of his ablest men in

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the ensuing battle that Ahmed Bey Zogu returned to Mati. At this time, a stirring call to all Albanian patriots was issued by Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora to convene at Valona, where on November 28, 1912, Albanian independence was proclaimed. As voting delegate of Mati, Ahmed Bey Zogu went to Valona, but as soon as the Valona Congress was adjourned, he hastened back to his district to defend it against the menace of advancing Serbs. For fourteen long, dreary months, Ahmed Bey Zogu, with a handful of men, fought the Serbs, and until their retreat, no Serbian soldier ever set foot on the soil of Mati.

The Great Powers began to realize, at the close of 1912, that an independent Albania was a political necessity if European peace was to be restored and maintained. So the Conference of Ambassadors at London, on December 20, 1912, recognized Albanian independence, and later nominated as Prince of Albania the Prince Wilhelm of Wied, who, on March 7, 1914, arrived in Durazzo. Buffeted by every kind of political intrigue between the rivalling interests of the Great Powers, having no knowledge of internal conditions in

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175 Albania and antagonizing the local influences, the Prince of Wied could gain no foothold in the country. Thorough discontent and rising indignation was stirred up by ambitious politicians within and by the enemies without. Essad Pasha Toptani, who first professed loyal devotion to the Prince of Wied only to conceal his own ambitious aims, was the Prince of Wied's most dangerous opponent, and who, under the pretext of friendship, undermined Prince of Wied's position until revolution again broke out. During these turbulent times, Ahmed Bey Zogu was ever loyal to the Prince of Albania, looking upon his person as the embodiment of the State. However, recognizing the great danger the nation was risking by these selfish rivalries, Ahmed Bey Zogu did everything in his power to aid the Prince of Wied, but the intrigues proved too strong for him, and loathing to see Albania writhing again in civil strife, he returned to his home at Mati. The regime of the Prince of Wied was terminated before the outbreak of the world war, and upon his departure, the warring factions again attempted to run the country for their own ends, which only served to defeat themselves and

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG/

did no good for Albania as a whole which was besieged from the exterior. 175

Finally, in 1916, Ahmed Bey Zogu recognized his opportunity to help his country, and as the Serbs retreated before the victorious Austrians, he began negotiations with the victors, clearing the country of stragglers of the fleeing armies, he hoisted the Albanian national flag on the Palace of Durazzo.

When the Austro-Hungarian High Command, in 1916, was looking for a commander of the Albanian volunteer troops the selection fell on Ahmed Bey Zogu. He was named the commander of the Albanian military forces and was commissioned by the Austrian High Command with the full rank of a colonel. He distinguished himself on the field of battle in a series of astonishing feats of daring. Once, single-handed, he captured a whole company of the enemy. Fortune had given Colonel Ahmed Bey Zogu all the great qualities of a leader. It was always Colonel Zogu who led his Albanian warriors into battle. Upon his resignation as commander of the Albanian troops he was invited to an audience with Emperor Karl of Austria, who bestowed on him the insignia of a commander of the Impe-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG-1

• 175 rial Austrian Order of Francis-Joseph. But when Austria discovered that he had intentions to re-establish Albanian administrative independence, he was invited to Vienna for a council of war and then treacherously interned. With the conclusion of the Armistice he returned to Albania, where he was entrusted by Turkhan Pasha, head of the Albanian Provisional Government, with the command of the Albanian troops. He saved Scutari from invasion by Serbian troops and he occupied Scutari, where he remained as governor until March 27, 1920, when the Congress of Lushnja was assembled.

From this point onward the life of Ahmed Bey Zogu is synonymous with the history of Albania. Suffice it to say that from 1918 he was the guiding and liberating spirit of Albania until he became, by unanimous acclamation of the Albanian people, on September 1, 1928, the King of Albanians.

"Scanderbeg II," as His Majesty King Zog I is often called by his subjects, is a fitting title for this great man who has led his country and people through war and strife to ultimate peace, just as the famous old national hero, Scanderbeg the Great, did centuries ago.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Scutari

103 OF all the cities in Albania there are very few that can lay claim to as much romance as can Scutari (Shkodra). In the past it has seen the foreign invaders swarm all around in the neighboring districts 712 only to be repulsed at the walls of the Rozafat Citadel which surrounds Scutari.

36 This ancient city in northern Albania is encircled by the lofty peaks of the north Albanian Alps and is situated on the southern extremity of the lake of Scutari at the conflux of the Bojana, Drin and Kiri rivers.

• 175 The Labeatans, a branch tribe of the Illyrians, resided in this district about two centuries before Christ, when for a time Scutari was the capital of Illyria. King Gentius ruled over this strongly fortified city until 168 before Christ, at which time the Romans occupied the city under Praetor Ancicius. It was left to the Emperor Diocletian to unite the city into the Roman Empire and he named Scutari as the capital of the province of Praevalis; in this capacity it remained until

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

175 395 A.D., when this district passed from the East Roman Empire into the increasing power of Byzantium. From this period on into the Middle Ages, Scutari fought one invader after another in an effort to retain its integrity. First the Serbs were repulsed and then the Turks. In the early fifteenth century, the Venetians gained possession of Scutari and the surrounding territory, but it was not long until the Turks were again at the citadel of Scutari, and for ten long, dreary months, 1478-79, Scutari withstood the armies of Sultan Mohammed II, and finally was brought under Turkish rule but remained unconquered.

During the Balkan war, Scutari was the last city to withstand the Turks. Until January 29, 1912, Vali (Governor) Hassan Riza was able to hold and protect Scutari against the Serbs and Montenegrins, and afterwards Essad Pasha Toptani took over the command with his avaricious and ambitious schemes for personal glorification. The attacks of the Montenegrins and Serbs continued until April 22, 1913.

195 A Roman Catholic Archbishopric is established in Scutari.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwithstanding the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal government is a species of aristocratic republic, all matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

may traverse the camps of belligerents with greater safety than men. The terms of treaties of peace, too, are often discussed by the women belonging to the hostile parties in the privacy of the harems of the chieftains. More ready, however, as a rule, are they to espouse and take part in the quarrels of their male relatives than to act as peacemakers, and, owing to their practice of carrying arms, they are always ready for a fray. Miss Mackenzie relates that, when traversing the Pass of Katchanik, her attention was directed by her escort to two Albanian women whom they chanced to meet. "Look at them," he cried, "they are women worth looking at, for well do they know how to handle a gun!"

"Are they Moslems?" asked the traveller.

"Assuredly."

"But they do not wear the yashmak."

"Not they, indeed," was the reply. "They have never worn it, and why should they? for they are fiercer and more unapproachable than men."[1]

Such being the character of the Albanian women, it is not surprising that they have played a considerable part in the history of their country. It was, indeed, to the indomitable energy and courageous spirit of his mother, Khamko, that Ali Pasha, the "Lion of Ioannina," owed the earlier successes that paved the way for his subsequent brilliant career. Ali, who had during his father's lifetime been a wild and intractable boy, appears at his death to have submitted with the utmost docility to the authority of his mother. This lady, who was the daughter of a

[1] *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Bey of Konitza, and connected with some of the best Tosk families, had not, until the death of her husband placed the responsibility for the well-being of the family in her hands, given any signs of the extraordinary strength of character and readiness of resource which afterwards distinguished her, qualities which were, however, sullied by an implacability of soul which only too nearly resembled that displayed by Olympias, the mother of Alexander, herself a native of Epirus.

"To my mother," said the tyrant of Ioannina on one occasion to the French Consul-General—"to my mother I owe everything, for my father left me but a mere hole (τρίνα) and a few fields. My imagination, fired by the counsels of her who had twice given me birth—for she has made me both a *man* and a *vizier* —revealed to me the secret of my destiny."[1] The hereditary enemies of the family having at once taken advantage of its head being a minor, by seizing upon some of his lands, Khamko suddenly exchanged the distaff for the sword, and gathering round her the partisans of her house, and those among her late husband's vassals who still remained faithful, tried in various skirmishes her strength against that of the enemies of her family. In these raids she was accompanied by her young son, to whom she pointed out the lands of which he had been despoiled, and the estates of the despoilers. Braving every danger, the *Aghadina*, as Khamko was called by her followers, continued to harass her enemies by open hostility or secret intrigue until she was finally taken in an

[1] See pp. 245 and 319, *Fate*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

ambuscade by the men of Gardiki and Tchormovo, together with Ali and her only daughter, Shainitza. After having been subjected to every indignity and outrage by their captors, Khamko and her children had the good fortune to be ransomed by the generosity of a Greek merchant for the sum of 22,800 piastres (£3700).

Hatred of those who had thus humiliated her took entire possession of the Aghadina's soul, and her one idea thenceforward was to train up her son as the avenger of her wrongs. With this object she commenced to instil into his mind those pernicious principles which he was only too well disposed to receive, and which may be summed up in the words *Might is right*, an adage sufficiently popular among the turbulent Albanian clans. Ali's first attempt to vindicate his rights in the field was a complete failure. Having met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected, he fled from the fight, and was one of the first to re-enter Tepeleni. Khamko, furious at finding all her hopes blasted by what she deemed his cowardice, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting her distaff into his hand, added, "Go, coward, and spin with the women in the harem; thou art fitter for that than for the career of arms!" Ali's fortunes indeed fluctuated for some time between success and failure. While he was absent on a campaign, Khamko found herself on her death-bed, and, though repeated and urgent messages were despatched to him, she died before he could arrive. The Aghadina in her will bequeathed to her son and daughter the task of immolating to her *manes* the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo, at whose hands they had suffered such

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate her enemies.

Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted black,[1] and everything which in any way recalled joy or happiness was banished from the palace. Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news of the fall of Gardiki,[2] she wrote to Ali reminding him of the oath they had sworn together over their mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion, "it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward repose!"

Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead, kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé

[1] See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

[2] In 1802. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yousóuf the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Vaghia,[1] not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the hair of the women with every insult which she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, menacing any with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet which records, in letters of gold, the number of the dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of Ioannina.

In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a *hadji*, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet, and pray there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages and offerings may, however, only be made when the expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor, that the property to be sold for this purpose had been taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrimage was disallowed by the religious authorities.

Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that manifested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, exceptional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

[1] The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanasé Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, Ὁ βρυκόλακας, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

own household was one whose character stands out in striking contrast to theirs. This was the Vizier's favourite wife, Emineh, the daughter of the Pasha of Delvino, a chieftain whose ruthless cruelty had gained for him the surname of the Tiger, but who had fallen a victim to Ali's ambition. In the dirges sung by the Liaps on the death of her husband, Emineh is described as "the gentle hind of Mount Pelagos," and her sympathy for the victims of the Vizier's rancour brought about her untimely and tragical end.

When the news arrived at Ioannina of the fall of Souli, Emineh, touched with the story of their heroism, fell at the Vizier's feet and implored his clemency on their behalf. "O Effendi!" she cried, clasping his knees, "deign to listen to thy most devoted slave, and be not insensible to her tears! Your Fate has warned me in a dream that it will be well for you if you spare the Souliotes!"

"The *Souliotes!*" exclaimed the Vizier, in a voice of thunder—"the *Souliotes!* Darest thou intercede for my worst enemies and not tremble for thyself?"

"Effendi," replied the brave woman, rising with dignified firmness—"Effendi, remember that I am the daughter of a Pasha. Yes, I dare intercede for them, and, moreover, dare to tell thee that their blood, and the blood of my unhappy father, which thou hast shed whilst I was yet a child, will be upon thy head!"

"And upon thine also," replied the Vizier, beside himself with fury. Drawing from his girdle a pistol, he discharged it at his wife, who, falling in a swoon, was carried by her slaves into the haremlik. Ali, think-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

ing he had killed her, and overcome with grief and remorse, shut himself up in his most private apartments until he was informed by his physician that Emineh was not even wounded, but had merely fainted from emotion. His mind thus relieved, Ali shed tears, and, with all his tenderness for his favourite wife revived, proceeded to her apartment. Admittance being from fear refused him, he entered the chamber by force. The noise, however, and the sight of the tyrant, gave to the tender Emineh a shock which proved fatal, and she expired during the night in a state of delirium.

The death of Emineh was a terrible shock also to her murderer. Her memory perpetually haunted him, whether at the festal board or in the council chamber, and, above all, in the silent watches of the night. He feared to be left alone, and was frequently heard by his pages to start up, and exclaim: "Emineh! it is she!—it is she! Save me from her vengeance!" Years later, when the Dervish Sheikh, Youssouf, while boldly reproving the Vizier for his crimes and cruelties, pointed out from the window the tomb of the murdered Emineh, he was interrupted by Ali, who exclaimed with tears: "Stop, stop, my father! Thou hast named the name of Emineh; overwhelm me not with the weight of thy maledictions!"

An account of the Albanian women would hardly be complete without some mention of the terrible blood-feuds (*Ram de Ghiak*), which, though often originating in the most trifling causes, result in great loss of life, and are frequently handed down from generation to generation. Sometimes these feuds

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER X.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR CULTURE-BELIEFS.

779 Though speaking the same language, observing the same customs, and cherishing the same traditions and aspirations, the Albanians, as may have been seen from the foregoing chapter, are, in matters of religious belief, divided by three Creeds, the Moslem, Orthodox Greek, and Roman Catholic. The Moslems constitute about one-half of the population, and of the remaining half the majority follow the rites of the Eastern Church.

797 175 After the loss of their independence the Albanians began by degrees to abandon the faith of their forefathers for that of their conquerors. Islam, however, made but slow progress among them until towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the Porte promulgated a law assuring the possession of their property to those Albanian families who would bring up one of their sons in the Moslem faith. A Tosk proverb says, "Where the sword is, there is the faith;" and the advantages which a nation of mercenary soldiers could not fail to find in belonging to the religion of the dominant race, soon made conversion so general that the populations of whole villages, towns, and even districts would simultaneously apostatise to Islam. Wholesale perversions, such as these, have

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4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

not been unfrequent even in the present century, and the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, makes it probable that in course of time the country may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kûrds, however, the Moslem Albanians have among the Turks the reputation of being but indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of the Albanians who call themselves members of the Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary of the departure of her image from the Latin church in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years

6: Lane
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EG1 Albania EG1

/For a description of the rebellion staged by the mountain Ghegs in Tirana and Durazzo in March 1922 against the newly formed Albanian Toshk Government, and of the main participants, see cat. 116, pp. 289, 301-349. For an account of the historical, economic, and political background of the rebellion, see pp. 289-301./

POSTSCRIPT

flourish. The southern plains, before the war, exported fine horses in considerable numbers. Properly developed, Albania would be a rich agricultural country, even without the fertile valleys of Kossova and Epirus.

The mineral resources of Albania are unknown. During the Austrian occupation, a survey was made, looking toward the development of copper mines during the war; the results of the survey have vanished into the archives of the Austrian War Department. However, even the untrained eye perceives that there are copper and lead in the mountains. English mining engineers have told me that there are probably also silver and gold. I have seen veins of coal projecting on mountain sides; the mountaineers chip it off with hatchets or pry it loose with levers, and use it as fuel to a small extent. There are millions of feet of pine, oak, birch, and beech timber; unlimited water power. There are oil fields near Valona; producing oil wells were sunk, and later destroyed, by the Italians. Valona's military importance is not the only reason that Albanians are not left in peace.

There is also the political background. For twenty centuries the Albanians have been a beleaguered remnant of the first Aryan race in Europe. By character, temperament, and choice they belong with the peoples of the west, not with their Slav neighbors in the Balkans. But they have had no friends, either in west or east; their whole history has been a struggle for existence.

POSTSCRIPT

175 They were never entirely subjugated by Rome; they were not destroyed or assimilated by the Slavs who have been pushing them southward for sixteen hundred years; they never ceased their resistance to Turkey. Since 169 B.C., when the Romans drove them into the mountains, they have been fighting for a free Albania, and giving the Balkans no peace.

They fight with rifles and with diplomacy. They have had no friends, but they profit by the quarrels of their enemies. Wherever there was a weak place in Asia Minor or Central Europe, there the Albanians have tried to strike a blow for Albania. The opportunity of their hero, Scanderbeg, came in the fifteenth century, when the Sultan of Turkey was killed on the battlefield he had won in Kossova. Scanderbeg, whose childhood and youth had been spent in the Sultan's court, was left second in command of the Sultan's victorious forces. He profited by the confusion attending the Sultan's death to get an order giving him command of the fortress of Kruja, built by his father on a mountain overlooking Tirana. The song says that he killed seven horses in reaching Kruja, leaving his escort far behind in the Mati mountains. When he reached the fortress, he at once proclaimed Albanian freedom, and maintained it for twenty-five years of warfare, during which he built citadels and roads and established laws which still exist. After his death, his people waited four hundred years for another chance to strike.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

POSTSCRIPT

175 Then the Young Turk movement rose. Albanians seized upon it, precipitated the revolution at Uskub in Kossova, and were the deciding factor in terrifying the Sultan and winning the Constitution which promised to respect the languages and laws of subject peoples in Turkey. When these promises were broken, when Montenegro and Serbia invaded Albania, the chiefs raised the flag of Scanderbeg and wrote their own Constitution of Lushnija. The Six Powers, in an effort to maintain the Balkan equilibrium, gave Albania a German king. As soon as the Powers were engaged in the Great War, Albania drove him out. During the war she impartially fought both sides whenever they invaded Albanian territory. When the war ended, when Jugo-Slavia replaced Austria as Italy's rival on the Adriatic, and England and France quarreled, Albania played a shrewd game at Versailles and Geneva and became officially an independent republic.

175 727 Still blockaded after ten years of war and blockade, still fighting invaders in the Mati and the Dibra, she became an independent republic. Her people, from Hoti and Gruda to Corfu, from the Merdite to the Adriatic, were refugees. Her flocks had been killed, her villages burned, her orchards hacked down, her irrigation systems destroyed. She had a provisional government, hardly strong enough to hold itself together. She could not have a permanent government until her boundaries were fixed by the League of Nations.

POSTSCRIPT

She had great natural wealth and no debts, but she had no currency of her own, no banks, no credit system. She had hides, wool, and olive oil to export, but all her frontiers were closed by enemies. She had minerals, forests, water power, oil, harbors, but no machines of any kind, no trained men, no commercial organization. She had the strongest men, the bravest fighters, the most indomitable national spirit in Europe, but few of her people could read or write. Certainly more than half the population was ill from malnutrition and malaria, and she had probably the highest infantile mortality rate in Europe.

This was the new Albania which must somehow maintain itself. And if the curtain of silence behind which this Balkan drama is played were a stone wall shutting out her neighbors, the situation would not be so difficult. But Italy—promised southern Albania by the secret Treaty of London in 1915 which induced her to join the Allies against Germany, and cheated of her payment—has authority from the League of Nations to occupy Albania again if the Albanians fail to maintain a stable government. Serbia is still intriguing to push farther south and west the boundary lines not yet entirely fixed by the League of Nations.

There were other difficulties. Because the Toshks are the Albanians who can read and write, the weak provisional government was Toshk. Around the fires in their mountain houses, the Ghegs were saying that only cow-

POSTSCRIPT

175 ardly Toshks would allow free Albania to bow
727 to a League of Nations—a League of the very
578 Powers who were her enemies. The Ghegs, they said, were no such shameful trucklers. And every fire had its refugee guests who had fled from burning villages, leaving terror and death behind them. These refugees cried to their brother Ghegs for vengeance. Did the Ghegs call themselves men and Albanians? they demanded. "Our teeth in the throats of the Serbs!" the Ghegs replied.

Meanwhile in Tirana the Toshks were talking softly of patience, and of more patience, of waiting month after month for a commission and yet another commission from the League of Nations. The Toshks—with that threat of Italian invasion over them—were demanding peace, peace at any cost. Albania must wait for the League of Nations to fix the boundaries, must acquiesce in any boundaries fixed, must be quiet, must wait.

While they waited, the people starved. Prices in Albania are higher than in the United States —higher in dollars. The homespun garments have worn out; there is nothing to replace them. Fields have been devastated, and no men left alive to till them. Flocks have disappeared, horses and mules are gone. And as the boundaries have been fixed, mile by mile upon a map, Dibra and Mati have lost their market cities, Dukaghini and Merdite have lost their grazing lands, the tribes of Hoti and Gruda and Castrati have been cut in two. Still, the Albanian gov-

POSTSCRIPT

ernment spoke of peace, demanded peace, and— 175
determined to have peace—set about disarming 727
the Ghegs in the very face of their enemies. 578

This was the Albania into whose capital I 1000
blithely rode, in the rattling little Ford, on that spring night of 1922. I pass over all the minor political disputes, the ambitions of selfish men, the mistakes of foolish ones, the bitter rivalry between Elbassan, to the south, Scutari, to the north, and Tirana, in the center, for the honor and profit of being Albania's capital. Tirana 361
was, tentatively, the capital; made so because it was everywhere conceded to be the least progressive, the most hopelessly Mohammedan, the most dangerously un-Albanian city in the country. The government had made Tirana the capital for the same reason that the teacher puts the worst boy of the class in the front seat. But this was no solace to Scutari or Elbassan.

Tirana, the white, low town, drowsed in the sun; water rippled in the gutters of the winding, walled streets; donkeys laden with cedar boughs, the brooms of Tirana, carefully picked their footing on the uneven cobbles; women with gayly painted cradles on their backs trudged behind the donkeys. Men in rags of their homespun white garments and Scanderbeg jackets and colored sashes sat all day on the low walls around the mosques. The fez makers, amid their piles of raw wool and mixing bowls and heating irons, were talking politics, and so were the men in the street of the coppersmiths, which is musical from

[In spring 1922 [301] -- Analyst]

The Straits of Otranto, where the waters of the Adriatic
131 merge into the main basin of the Mediterranean, divide the
133 Apulian heel of Italy from the land of Albania — the setting of my tale. The Italian shore is flat, featureless, and without a considerable harbour; but on the Albanian side the coastal range of the Dinaric Alps curves back from the sea, as if to protect the mainland approaches to the port of Valona, which lies where the straits are narrowest. Albania is thus a fortified enclave on the west coast of the Balkan Peninsula, and the Power that controls it commands the entrance to the Adriatic Sea. This enclave, moreover, forms a natural bridgehead for Italy in the Balkans: from Valona to Salonika is but two hundred miles; and, though the mountains of the interior present notable obstacles to communications, a Power established across this neck of the peninsula would command two of the three key positions on the roads that lead from Europe to the East.

● 175 The fate of a territory of such strategic importance could scarcely be a matter of indifference to the Powers; and the briefest review of Albania's past suggests that it has been an enduring cause of contention between them in their efforts to acquire or to preserve a dominant position in the Adriatic or the Eastern Mediterranean. The rising sea power of Rome clashed with the navies of Illyria and Epirus, and subjected those kingdoms to her rule, in order to confirm her supremacy in the Adriatic. Once the control of the straits was assured, the new provinces were converted into a base for imperial expansion; and Dyrrachium, the modern Durazzo, became the head of the Via Egnatia, the great artery of empire which ran through Thessalonika (Salonika) to the East. Rome's Byzantine successor held fast to the Albanian coasts to preserve the Eastern Mediterranean from Adriatic enemies, until Norman sea power supplanted her there, and gave the land its present name. In the wake of the Normans came armies of Crusaders, who crossed from Italy into Albania to follow the ancient Roman road to the East. The ephemeral empires of Bulgaria and Serbia spread, in their turn, to control the entrance to the Adriatic, while the more enduring mercantile power of Venice long strove, and with varying success, to establish itself on the

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Albanian coast. The freedom of the Straits of Otranto was, 175
indeed, the vital interest of the republic; and it was Venice which, in part, supplied the sinews of war and the liaison officers with which Skanderbeg defied the armies of the Sultan.

The Turkish occupation of Albania provided the Ottoman [177]
Empire with a useful shield against attacks out of the Adriatic; and for close on five centuries the country was preserved from other foreign influences. In the Napoleonic wars, however, while Britain and France wrestled for supremacy in the Mediterranean, their agents began to intrigue with Ali the Lion, Pasha of Yannina, to secure control of the Straits of Otranto. Thereafter the slow dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire gave rise to an Albanian Question; and, as the nineteenth century advanced, the nations of Europe addressed themselves with growing interest to the problem of the country's future. Great Britain, the dominant sea power in the Eastern Mediterranean, strove to exclude her potential rivals from this strategic area, and for long buttressed the crumbling authority of the Turk. Russia encouraged the designs of her Serbian and Montenegrin satellites on Albanian territory, to extend her influence to the warm waters and deny their access to the Dual Monarchy. Austria-Hungary and Italy, as rival Adriatic powers, each sought to establish its predominance in Albania, " the possession of which ", as Count Tittoni observed, " would mean for either Italy or Austria-Hungary the incontestable supremacy of the Adriatic Sea ".

The balance of contending forces long sustained the rule of the Turk in Albania and served the aims of British policy in the Eastern Mediterranean. The victory, however, of the Balkan Allies in the war of 1912 brought the Ottoman Empire in Europe to an end. A partition of Albania was threatened; but the jealousies of the Powers led, in the following year, to the creation, for the first time in centuries, of an independent Albanian state. At the time the new principality was characterised as " an illegitimate child of Austrian diplomacy with Italy figuring as the midwife "; but its emergence, none the less, conformed with alternative policies long advocated in the Foreign Office.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

175 The outbreak of the first World War shattered the precarious equilibrium on which the infant state of Albania had reposed. The armies of Serbia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and France occupied parts of the country, sometimes in accordance with the dictates of military necessity, but not least with a view to staking out their claims against the day of settlement. The victory left Great Britain and France supreme in the Levant and in the Balkans, and Albania was accordingly restored to her independence within the frontiers of 1913.

648 The Empires of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey lay prostrate or dismembered, and Albania now became the object of fierce rivalry between Italy and the new Adriatic power of Yugoslavia. Both states naturally strove to control the Straits of Otranto; Italy prevailed, and, in 1926, by the Pact of Tirana, acquired a virtual protectorate over Albania. The Duce might for a time rest content with Italian supremacy in the Adriatic; but, as one step leads to another, so the mastery of this route to the Levant led him to turn his eyes to the Levant itself. He revolved ambitious plans for its conquest by sea and land, and designed that Albania should serve him, not only as the key to the Adriatic, but also as the bridgehead of a new Roman Empire in the Balkans. Accordingly, in April 1939, when diplomacy had failed to compel Albania's subservience, he occupied the country and began to build a network of roads along which Italian armies might march to the East in the footsteps of the Legions.

000 Each of these episodes from Albania's past is but a variation on the underlying theme of the struggle of the Powers to control, or at least deny to their rivals, the key to the Adriatic road to the East. The recent war, accompanied by the return of Germany and Russia to the ranks of the rivals for the dominion of the Levant, gave a new impetus to this struggle. At times it was submerged in the broader conflict which engulfed the world; yet ever and again it reasserted itself, developing a momentum of its own, regardless of alliances or enmities: for if war is an extension of politics, both are projections of geography.

In this struggle for the control of Albania the Albanian

174 the land and decrease of manpower probably counterbalanced each other.

It must have taken several centuries for the pioneers to explore every valley, choose the most favorable sites, and put them into cultivation. In a few centuries more, less favorable lands which could support a thinner population would also have been cleared. But by the beginning of the Christian era, the time when the first outside influence, that of Rome, made itself felt on the fringes of the Gheg mountains, this region may well have been populated to its present capacity. This means that there was no room for Romans or anyone else to settle without armed invasion. Even with armed invasion, as many have discovered, the Gheg mountains are hard to take.

Biologically the significance of this is of course that while the original settlers of our area must have been a mixed lot, they were probably able to fill their country with progeny before any concerted attempts were made by outsiders to invade their territory. The [144] majority of them were undoubtedly Illyrians from Bosnia, while others may have been Thracians from the plains to the northeast. Racially they were probably a mixture of Nordics, Mediterraneans from the Adriatic littoral, brachycephals from the same region, and Pontic Mediterraneans from the Euxine borderlands. They were able to stew in their own genetic juice and produce their own variety of human beings.

175 Roman authors have much to say about the peoples all around Ghegnia, but very little about the mountaineers themselves. This silence is very significant. All of Ghegnia except for the southern portions of Mati and Dibra formed a part of the province of Dalmatia, while those 2 sections of tribes plus what is now central Albania went with Macedonia. The present Tosk country was part of Epirus, which was considered distinct from Greece. While the predecessors of the Tosks

[8] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

[9] Strabonis Geographia, Book 7, p. 457, lines 3–6: ". . . et Drilo fluvius, quo adverso navigatur orientem versus usque ad Dardanicam."

or

καὶ Δρίλων ποταμὸς ἀνάπλων ἔχων πρὸς ἕω, μέχοι τῆς Δαρδανικῆς.

1 [Cont. on p. 41b --Analyst]

● 175 were Epirotes and those of the Ghegs Illyrians, the people in between were formed by a mixture of these 2 elements. Strabo, in Book Seven, enumerates the central Albanian tribes which were subdued by the Macedonians, and some of whom spoke 2 languages. He says that some of the tribes were constantly seeking to gain control over others, but that the Macedonians put an end to this rivalry. In 168 B.C. Macedonia became a Roman province. That the central Albanian tribes resembled the modern Ghegs in some respects is certified by their use of the word *peligo* (*plak*) for elder, the tribal name Emathia (*e Madhia*, the Great, nominative plural), and possibly the tribal name Molotti (*maltsor, mountaineer*).[8] 1 A

Strabo locates a people know as the Dardanians to the northeast of the Gheg country, on the Kossovo plain, beyond the upper reaches of the river Drin.[9] Strabo considered the Dardanians an utterly savage people, living in pits under dunghills and playing stringed instruments. Despite this cultural abasement, they furnished Rome with an emperor—Justinian. The country of the Dardanians, which the Romans conquered, was said to be heavily forested up to the neighborhood of Nissa, the modern Niš, an important crossroads town in Roman times as today. Peter the Hermit, who led a crusade through this country at the end of the 11th century (A.D. 1095–1121), walked 7 days through this forest, and finally reached Niš, which he found to be defended by stone walls, and to have 7 water-powered gristmills. In 1717 a British traveler (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu) found the forest still there, and infested with gangs of bandits.[10] In 1809 much of this forest was still left when the Serbian peasants revolted against the Turks, led by Karageorge. All of this means that as long as the plain of Old Serbia was forested, there was room in it for people to expand. It was not a center of population from which large migrations could be initiated.

I give this in both original tongues because it is a somewhat difficult passage to translate and because Miss Durham misunderstood it, placing the Dardanians in Albania.

[10] Durham, 1928, pp. 232–34.

1 A [See p. 41a-- Analyst]

175 The evidence is excellent that in Roman times the geographical division of labor, by means of which the mountaineers exchanged their raw materials for processed goods in bordering market towns, had already begun. Since the earliest archaeological material in Albanian sites is either of Bosnian, Thracian, or Roman manufacture, this system must have been in force from the beginning of the Illyrian settlement. On the Adriatic side of the mountains small Roman trading posts have been located archaeologically at Berzumno (Vuksanlekaj, north of Scutari), Cinna (Koplik), and Iminacum (Iballja, in Puka).[11] The Romans also occupied Scutari (Scodra), Lesh (Lissus), and Durazzo (Dyrachium), and connected these 3 market towns with a road.

175 491 At Durazzo this road turned eastward from the coast and went across country, following the lowest gap in the Dinaric chain north of the Gulf of Corinth, over to Lychnidus on Lake Ochrida. This highway skirted but did not traverse the Gheg mountains, crossing the Black Drin just south of the present tribal boundary of Dibra.

Another road, however, went straight across the mountains from Lissus (Lesh) south of the Drin.[12] It apparently followed the same course as the modern road which goes from Vau i Denjës in Zadrima to Puka, across the Mal i Zi and down to the bank of the Black Drin just a short distance south of its confluence with the White Drin. This road follows the south bank of the White Drin for about 18 miles, at which point the river makes a sharp bend to the north.

In Roman times the country beyond the confluence of the 2 Drins was part of the province of Upper Moesia. The road continued across this province to a place called Ulpiana in the Kossovo plain, probably near the modern town of Prishtina. From Ulpiana it went on to the Morava valley where it reached the river at Nissa, the modern city of Niš. This road was not the only Roman highway which crossed the Dinaric Alps from the Adriatic into the modern city of Niš. It was only one of 3 methods of getting from the Adriatic coast to the Danube valley over-

1 [see p. 426 -- Analyst]

[11] Nopcsa, 1910, p. [31].

175
491

land. Far to the north, a highway connected Senia (Zengg) just south of Fiume, with Siscia (Zagreb or nearby) and the route down the Save. From Spalatum (Split) too it was possible to cross the watershed on Roman pavement. The *Via Ignatia*, across central Albania, offered a longer route to Niš, for at Heraclium (Bitolj) it met at right angles a road going north and south, one branch of which passed, via Scupi (Skoplje), to Ulpiana.

175

The Drin road cannot have been the most comfortable of these various routes. Although the Romans must have kept it in repair, there is little evidence of it left today. It can never have been suitable for wheeled traffic, for it is narrow, twisting, and steep, consisting in places of steps, hewn in the rock or built of masonry. For 2 nights the travelers must have slept in Gheg mountain territory. This means that the Romans must have built fortified stations for this purpose. The first night would take them to Picaria (Çeret?), the second to Creveni, near either the present Spash or Parmchi, on the south bank of the Drin a few miles below the confluence. The third night would take them out on the plain, on the way to Ulpiana. A Roman settlement at Gabuleum, somewhere near Gonaj or Zum in present-day Has territory, may have been the spot.

The transport of goods over this road, with processed materials moving east and raw materials west, must have furnished a strong temptation to the mountaineers on either side. The Romans must have kept it guarded, for otherwise ambushes would have been easy. Garrisons mean troops, and troops mean fraternization between imported soldiery and the local population. Perhaps many of the soldiers were recruited from Gheg tribes a short distance from their posts. Even so, some must have been outsiders, and we may expect that the genetic capsule of Ghegnia became somewhat unsealed during Roman times along the highway. This would affect principally the tribe of Puka, across which much of the road passes, and also the tribes of Luma and Has, which it skirts.

After the decay of the Western Empire the

[18] Shepherd, 1921, map 39; Kiepert, 1894, map XVII, Illyricum et Thracia.

175 road must have been much less patronized, for there was no one either to keep it up or guard it. Furthermore, what goods would come out of Moesia and Dacia would go to Byzantium rather than to Rome. In the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., the Goths over-ran parts of eastern Ghegnia, and traditions about them remain in the tribe of Luma, where some of these northerners may have settled. In A.D. 535, Justinian defeated them and claimed Ghegnia for the Eastern Empire.

175 797 It was probably just at the period when the traffic over the Puka road was at its height, about the 4th century of the Christian era, that the tribesmen on either side of it may have been first converted to Christianity. Constantine himself, the first Christian emperor, may have passed through Ghegnia, for he was a Dardanian, a native of Niš. Our first record of Christian establishments in the mountains is dated A.D. 877[13] when there was already a bishop at Pulati, and by the 14th century we hear of 2 bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores and Pulatenses Minores, which were united in 1520. Another bishopric had its seat in the village of Drivasto (Drishti), in Postripa.[14]

175 Early in the 6th century the southern Slavs invaded the Balkans. A century later some of them moved westward from the Plain of Kossovo through the Drin Gates into Gheg territory, probably following the old Roman road. Their arrival at the Adriatic is still memorialized by the Slavic name of the tribe Zadrima, and a number of other place names. For 700 years the Serbian kings maintained a nominal rule over this mountain country. Now and then they disturbed the Catholic Albanian population, as in 1335, when the Tzar Dushan gave to the Orthodox monastery of Dechani[15] the land of the village of Summa, on the right bank of the Kiri in the Pulati bishopric, along with neighboring Albanian districts, and a number of bondsmen whose names read very much like those on our measurement blanks. Between 1372 and 1427, "Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh [sic], 'vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled

1 1 [See p. 43b.. Analyst]

[13] Durham, 1928, pp. 24–25, 28.

[14] Farlati, 1817, pp. ix–xiv, tells the story of these Albanian Bishoprics; see also Šufflay, 1916, p. 188.

● 175 them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty.' "[16]

During the Slavic period it is likely that the invaders had some effect upon the genetic composition of the mountain people, for Slavic names, such as Orosh, are common enough in Ghegnia, the Slavs certainly had access to much of the country, and Slavic speech had a considerable effect on the Albanian vocabulary. This was not, however, as important an invasion from the standpoint of biological interest as others that followed.

During the brief period between the end of the Old Serbian Empire and the time of the Turks, the Ghegs were left alone. The Turks began their invasion of Albania at the end of the 14th century, after the battle of Kossovo, in 1389. They met in battle the formidable Scanderbeg[17] (George Castrioti), the most famous of all Ghegs. He and his successors held them off from his fortress at Kruja (or Croya) until after 1479, the date of the fall of Scutari. The Turks never won control of all the highlands. Indeed, all of Mirdita and Dukagin, and parts of other tribes, remained Catholic throughout the Turkish period. Remaining Catholic meant that they were able to keep their country free of Turks. It also [553] meant that they usually stayed at home. However, many of the Christians adopted Moslem names which they used when they left their tribal territory to visit market towns, and this custom was still going on in 1929.

175 All of the Ghegs who were converted to
797 Islam did not change their faith through necessity. Many of them saw solid advantages in making the shift. A Moslem could carry a gun openly anywhere, and could shoot Christians at will, for they were outlaws. He could travel in Turkish territory without having to worry about being caught, and he could obtain many economic advantages over his Christian relatives, whose marital arrangements, unlike his own, produced a religious conflict. He could join the Turkish army, and rise to high rank; many Turkish generals were Albanians. Other Albanians became high court officials. One of

[16] Durham, 1928, p. 29.
[16] Durham, 1928, pp. 24–25
[17] See Fan Noli, 1947.

175 797 them founded the royal house of present-day Egypt. The Turks appreciated their Albanian subjects and favored them over many others. That is one reason why three-fourths of Albanians are still Moslem, and why Albania remained so long a part of the Turkish Empire.

175 177 Although the Turks probably did not add much genetically to the Gheg population, they did introduce some economic changes which may have had some effect on it. It was through the Turks that New World plants reached the Balkans, although in some places not before 1850. They added maize, haricot beans, and tobacco to the list of plants which would grow in the valleys and on the mountain slopes. Maize and haricot beans gave them new foodstuffs, but it is questionable if they yield more calories per acre than the earlier crops—small grains and broad-beans. Tobacco gave the mountaineers a new habit and a new need, and also a cash crop. On the debit side of the ledger, with their religion the Turks produced a prohibition against pork, and deprived their converts of an important food source.

Besides these agricultural and dietary changes the Turks introduced *hans*, or inns, along the more traveled roads in Moslem territory. Some of these *hans* probably occupy the same locations as Roman hostels. The professions of *hanji* (innkeeper), and *kiraji* (renter of horses) seem to have been Turkish innovations. In Turkish times, many Albanians [166] migrated to other countries; tens of thousands went to the Plain of Kossovo, apparently from the Gheg country, and many others to Greece, where there are still Albanian-speaking districts in Attica and the Peloponnesus. Many thousands entered the Turkish army, and other government services. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Christian Albanians, fleeing the Turks, settled in Italy and Sicily, where their descendants still maintain their ethnic identity.

Probably the most important single introduction of the Turks, however, was firearms. Gunsmiths in the market towns found the mountaineers eager to obtain the new weapons with which they could not only defend their home valleys from invaders, but also work off

[1] See Jireček, 1916, pp. 63–93.

1 [see cat 116, pp 20 b-21 a. - Analyst]

175 their local grudges. Silversmiths did a heavy
177 business converting coin into ornaments for pistols and ball-boxes, ornate holster belts, and powder-horns. Feuding now became much easier and more lethal. After firearms, arrived the *kulla*, or stone castle.[1] Although this new house type offered some defense, it did not prevent the great loss of life that the new weapon had initiated.

175 Now that the Ghegs were divided into 2 religious groups, and had guns, the death rate must have increased. The Turks themselves accounted for some of the population loss. They destroyed all the towns of north Albania from Durazzo to Scutari,[18] and others in the mountains as well. For example, they dragged the leading men of the town of Drishti in Postripa, the seat of an early bishopric, to Scutari, where they beheaded them.[19]

Massacre and emigration reduced the population of certain sections of Ghegnia below the economic maximum for the first time since its settlement in the Hallstatt Iron Age, thus opening the way to new immigrants. These were Christian tribesmen from Bosnia and Herzegovina, squeezed out by the Turkish expansion, and particularly by the struggles between Turks and Slavs. They were neither Turkish nor Slavic, but the remnants of the pre-Slavic population, still speaking a latinized form of Illyrian, and Catholic. In speech and religion, they found themselves at home in Ghegnia.

173 Most of them arrived during the 16th century. In the *bairak* of Gruda, Miss Durham found 500 houses, 80 of old indigenous stock, tracing their ancestry to Berisha (Puka), while the other 420 were inhabited by people who claimed descent in the male line from immigrants, called Djell, who came down from Herzegovina about A.D. 1530. A few years later, at least 4 brothers entered the Malsia e Madhe country from Bosnia; they were Geg Laz, ancestor of the Piperi tribe in Montenegro, which is now Slavic in speech and Orthodox in religion; Vaso Laz, the ancestor of the similar tribe of Vasojevitch; Krasni Laz, ancestor of the *bairak* of Krasniqi in Malsia e Jakovës—most of whom are now Moslem, although a few are Catholics. Nik, the ancestor

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 14 b - 15 a -- Analyst]
[2] [see p. 44 a -- Analyst]

[19] Durham, 1928, p. 28.

173 politics what they are, probably will not be. They serve our purpose of illustrating a principle of population movement in a feuding society.

This ends our history up to the final date of the ethnographic present as defined in chapter 1, "The Dinaric Problem."

175 Turkish rule lasted in Albania until 1912. After the Balkan wars an opera bouffe kingdom was set up with the Prince of Wied as king, and the capital in Durazzo. During his uninspired reign an international boundary commission laid out the borders of the new state, and at every point where there was any question, Albania came out the loser. Gruda was given to Montenegro. The Grudans who survived this political change fled to Scutari. Hoti lost part of its land, particularly its winter pasture. The tribesmen of Klementi were so cut off that they could not drive their flocks to their winter pasture near Scutari without crossing Montenegrin territory, which would have been equivalent to losing their animals. The Serbs closed the border to mountaineers bringing their goods to Jakova to trade, and expelled many of the Albanians from both [114] that city and Ipek. They made it almost impossible to travel between Kukës and Prizren; in 1929 our party was held up a whole day while we were searched to the skin, ordered to read aloud all of our papers, accused of being renegade Croats, etc., and we finally got away only after a great deal of telephoning on the plea that one of us was dangerously ill. In Prizren we found the jail full of Albanians.

[361] Dibra as well was lost as a market town. Kukës sprang up as a makeshift metropolis, as did Peshkopia. Tradesmen and artisans, as we have seen, stole over the border from Jakova, Prizren, and Dibra, to set up shop in the new places. The boundary commission could have created no more international hatred if this had been its principal objective.

World War I followed immediately after these unwise decisions, and the powderpuff king ran away. An army of Serbs, fleeing for their lives, marched across Dibra and Mati, burning and looting as they passed, to seek refuge on Corfu. Austrian troops, at their heels, occupied Scutari and the Malsia e Madhe, as well as the region of Kukës. They built

1 [Seecat. 116, p. 56 -- Analyst]

175 a few roads and bridges, and found time to do some anthropometry.

642 After the war Albania became a republic, with a parliament. Feudal and tribal, illiterate and immobilized by the lack of roads, the people were not prepared for self-government.

643 After a number of violent episodes Ahmed Zog, son of the *bairaktar* of Mat in the tribe of Mati, became dictator, and in 1929 proclaimed himself king. Hated by the people of Elbasan because he had jilted the daughter of Verlatsi, their most prominent citizen, he was despised by his fellow mountaineers and by the Tosks as well, most of whom saw in his rule a threat to their freedom. On the rare occasions when he dared leave his palace, he had all roofs and windows searched and guarded, and even the cypress trees searched; and then he sent a double ahead of him.

He did, however, make a number of wise moves. One was to employ Colonel Stirling, famed as a companion of Lawrence in Arabia, as his personal adviser. Another was to employ General von Mirdach of the Austrian army to set up his military machine. A third was to give the British General Percy a free

625 hand in organizing a gendarmerie. General Percy brought with him a staff of British officers, which included Colonel Martin and Major Glegg. These experienced men selected an elite group of mountaineers to police the highroads, and to report and put down trouble. For the first time in history someone was taking intelligent steps to rid the mountains of feuding.

[124] We measured 62 of these gendarmes, all local men. Twenty-one came from Luma, 17 from Mati, 10 from Puka, 6 from Malsia e Jakovës, 4 from Dibra, 3 from Dukagin, and one from Malsia e Madhe. The British officers very wisely used Ghegs in Gheg country. To have introduced outsiders would have made trouble. Many of the men were serving within their own tribes and *bairaks*; too often they were in blood elsewhere. This new occupation for mountaineers gave them a chance to see more of the world than before, for they were required to train in Tirana or Scutari. Although the gendarme system made little or no direct change in the genetics of the mountaineers, for these men marry as their fathers

1 [World War I -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER II

THE UNWRITTEN LAW IN OUTLINE

To ensure for all, irrespective of their individual material wealth, a fair share of the essential grazing, arable land and irrigation, there has grown up a corpus of Unwritten Law. This was evolved at some unknown date by the mountaineers, as part of the legal framework which they had devised for every aspect of their life. They evolved all their laws—social, administrative, or pastoral—unaided. For many centuries before the Turks arrived in the fifteenth century, the country was split up into a number of principalities, none of which was strong enough for long to subject a neighbour to its rule. Though the Turks remained for four and a half centuries, they could never exert more than a nominal authority outside the chief towns. If they sent a punitive column into the interior, the people living in the mountains took evasive action, retreating to some peak until the inevitable departure of the intruders; their wealth was so small that they could carry or drive off most of it to their refuge, and so lost little from the raid. If the Turks sent tax or police officials, they fired on them at the first defile as a warning to return to their offices in town. There were no roads along which forces strong enough to be effective could march, in order to reduce them to real submission. The Turkish government, unable to enforce its will, accepted the situation and left the mountaineers to govern themselves, as they had presumably done under their native princes and chiefs. The first all-weather road to be built in North Albania was constructed in 1916 by the Austro-Hungarian armies during their temporary occupation; it ran from Shkodër to Durrës, with a branch to Tirana.

Every type of unwritten law has been constantly recast, added to, and restated down the centuries by a body of experts drawn from the rank of rulers. This rank exists because the mountaineers came to realize that an entity which is divided against itself cannot stand. Consequently, in every social unit—in house and village as in tribe or group of villages—the principle of subordination to a supreme head was accepted. In a household the headship is hereditary, with an important qualification. As the mountaineers are aware that

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

Communism came to this land not because of the abuses of capitalism or because of a yearning of workers to unite, but through a political movement which developed against the background of the World War. The independence of the country and the inviolability of its boundaries were guaranteed by the peace treaties after the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. At the same time the Great Powers held that Italy had a special diplomatic and strategic stake in the welfare of her neighbor across the Adriatic Sea. As a result Italian interests in Albania expanded greatly after 1920, and to every intent and purpose the foreign trade of the two countries was pooled. But Yugoslavia naturally sought to challenge the primacy of Italy in the Adriatic area, and its support is held to have largely made it possible for Ahmed Zogu, Prime Minister in a government constituted as a Regency, to take over the rule of the country during 1924. Shortly thereafter, a Republic was proclaimed, and Zogu was elected President for a term of seven years. A skillful diplomat and political leader, he improved relations with both Greece and Yugoslavia, and signed the Treaty of Tirana in 1926 with Italy. This, accompanied by a sizable grant of financial assistance from Italian banks, gave recognition to the common interest of both countries in maintaining the independence of Albania. A year later they entered a defensive alliance. When it was alleged that these developments conceded to Mussolini rights which he exploited unduly, Zogu curbed the opposition with dramatic swiftness. He proclaimed himself King, on September 1, 1928, and was responsible for a constitution which recognized no political liberties but insured freedom of religion. Zogu, a benevolent dictator, made an honest effort to improve the cultural and economic life of the country, building roads, fostering health and hygiene, erecting schools, fighting a vigorous battle against illiteracy,

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EGI

and modernizing the banking system. Albania even acquired a radio station, and air travel became a reality. The King brought in foreign experts, particularly Austrians. Some of them I have known; and while they had the usual reservations about the political institutions of Albania, they respected his energy and sincerity of social purpose.

At this point Mussolini was unfortunately smitten with irrational imperialist ambition: if Hitler could have his empire of the master race, he himself was called upon to reconstruct the dominions of ancient Rome. Italian troops landed in Albania on April 7, 1939, shortly after the fall of France. They quickly overpowered the small defense army, and Zogu had to seek refuge abroad. The crown was thereupon offered to King Victor Emmanuel III, of Italy, who docilely accepted it. It is worth noting that the reception accorded the Italians was not too unfriendly, because some sections of the population expected to profit from the political change. Using Albania as an advance base, the Duce attacked Greece on October 28, 1940; but the valiant Greeks put his armies to rout and occupied nearly half of Albania. The Germans, defeating Yugoslavia, took over the rest of Albania, but confined themselves to routine control. Two resistance movements were formed, the one pro-Zogu and primarily against Italy, and the other Communist with the Germans as its principal target. The second, the National Liberation Front, was the stronger, primarily because it boldly drafted men into its partisan forces and because it maintained ruthless discipline. British commandos in the Adriatic therefore quite naturally aided it. As a result, the Front was able to assume control of the country as soon as the Germans retreated.

The provisional government formed by General Enver Hoxha, commander in chief of the National Liberation Front, was recognized by the United States, Great Britain, and Rus-

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

sia in 1945. A republic was established during the following year. General Hoxha and his followers meanwhile made no secret of their devotion to the Communist cause, although their utterances took on the usual protective coloring. At a Congress in the little town of Permeti, on May 24, 1944, the Front had "guaranteed freedom of religion and of conscience, and equality of rights for all religions." Hoxha's partisans, like Tito's, were frequently seen at religious services. Albania, a turbulent and weapon-toting country addicted to blood feuds and similar practices, was one of the most tolerant of nations from the religious point of view. In 1930 nearly three-fifths of the total population of 1,003,000 were Mohammedans, while the members of the Greek Orthodox Church constituted another fifth. Catholics in union with Rome were noticeably in the minority, scarcely more than one-tenth of the professedly religious reported in the census, and were concentrated in the extreme north of the country. Their major religious, charitable, and educational institutions were in Scutari, an ancient town on a beautiful mountain-surrounded lake, afflicted with mosquitoes and malarial fever. Ancient ties with Italy, which Mussolini so wantonly divested of moral and diplomatic import, had led to the existence of a considerable number of religious of Italian origin in Albania, and also to the settlement of many Albanians in Italy. This fact would no doubt have given rise to some antipathy even under normal conditions. Yet on the whole few in Albania were apprehensive when the war ended. The age-old tradition of religious peace seemed to preclude violent change.

Albania had a rude awakening. General Hoxha was interested in nothing less than freedom of religion. Information concerning the fate of the Moslem majority is meager and difficult to come by. But laborious piecing together of news items from Albanian radio broadcasts and newspapers makes

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1

SECTION I.

CHAPTER I.

The Source of the Collection, with a Short Account of the Origin of Yugoslavia and Albania.

Source of the Garments.

The garments, mostly those of women from Yugoslavia and Albania, which form the theme for this handbook were collected by Miss Durham between 1900 and 1914, and presented by her to Bankfield Museum, Halifax, in 1935, together with very detailed notes concerning their source, methods and occasions of wearing. In the succeeding pages information that has been obtained directly from Miss Durham or her letters and notes is placed in quotation marks with her initials in parenthesis at the end of the quotation.

The garments and specimens described as Yugoslavian and Albanian were collected from parts of Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia and Albania. These old divisions have been merged into two states since the European War, but their boundaries before 1913 are indicated by dotted lines on the map (Fig. 1).

It has been thought desirable to retain, for the purpose of this handbook, the old place names as they existed when Miss Durham made her collection, but for the sake of easy reference to a modern atlas the new names are placed in parenthesis after the old ones. The spelling adopted for the new names is that recommended by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, and published by the Royal Geographical Society.

Origin of Yugoslavia and Albania.

Regarding the early history of these countries Miss Durham writes: "The Albanians are undoubtedly the remains of the early inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula which, as Strabo and others relate, was populated by numerous tribes—Macedonians, Illyrians, etc. The whole peninsula was conquered by the Romans and formed part of the Roman Empire. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian Era, Slav invaders began to drift in. By about A.D. 650 they had subdued the native population and, with the exception of the Vallachs and Albanians, Slavized it."

"As Rome lost power the Slavs extended, and both the Bulgars (who are only partly Slav) and the Serbs established large empires and started the rivalry which exists to-day. Both were overthrown and dominated by the Turks for five centuries." (M.E.D.)

Yugoslavia originated at the end of 1918 through the desire for union of the Southern Slavs, although the actual frontier represents a series of compromises. It covers an area three times larger than post-war Austria, with a population twice as great, one-third of whom are Serbs. The next largest group are the Catholic Croats of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, who surpass the Serbs in culture and economic development.

[Text continues on p. 9]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EG1

The present state is made up of Serbia, autonomous since 1815; Montenegro, a small portion of which retained a precarious existence against the Turks for some 500 years and was declared independent by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878; Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a result of the war of 1914-18; Dalmatia, without Zara, after the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920; Croatia and Slavonia, without Fiume, decided by plebiscite under Inter-Allied Commission in 1920; and Voyvodina, a swampy part of the Hungarian Plain, by the Treaty of Trianon.

Bosnia and Herzegovina were Turkish provinces until 1878, when they were made dependencies of Austria by the Treaty of Berlin. The district was originally peopled by Slavs in the 6th and 7th Centuries and was for 800 years subject to Serbia, but was subjugated by the Turks in 1463, and supplied the famous Jannisary Corps to the Turkish Army. There were rebellions in 1850 and again in 1875 of the people of these states against their masters, the Slavs who had retained their estates by turning Mohammedan, and against the Turkish rulers.

As already mentioned above, Serbia was originally peopled by native tribes, and was part of the Roman Empire until its decline when invading Serbs and Croats from the country adjoining the Carpathians conquered and Slavized the native population and formed a large kingdom. In 1389 their Czar was killed at the Battle of Kossovo and the country became a Turkish province, remaining so until the beginning of the 19th Century when, whilst still under Turkish suzerainty, they were allowed to have their own ruler, Milosh Obrenovitch.

After the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 Serbia was recognised as independent and given a large area of territory and her prince, Milan Obrenovitch, was made king. Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to Austria to be administered for an indefinite term of years.

In 1885 Serbia attacked Bulgaria and was defeated. In 1901 King Milan died, and in 1903, his son King Alexander and Queen Draga were assassinated by army officers, Peter of the rival house of Karageorgevitch being recalled. There had been continued rivalry between the two families from 1809 to 1902.

Racial feeling ran high when Austria annexed these countries, and Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and other places where Serbs were numerous desired amalgamation. This was not secured at that time, but when peace was made with Austria and Hungary by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 in effect this amalgamation did take place, with the addition of some Austrian and some Hungarian territory. "Montenegro fiercely resisted annexation to the new state, but was conquered by superior force and included unwillingly in Yugoslavia." (M.E.D.)

The population of Yugoslavia according to religion comprises 47% belonging to the Eastern Orthodox Church, 39% Roman Catholic and 11% Mohammedan (descendants of Slavs who went over to Islam during the centuries of Turkish rule).

Albania was a Roman province in the 2nd Century A.D., was invaded by Slav tribes in the Middle Ages, and when the Turks invaded Europe in the 14th Century fought stubbornly for independence. In 1478, after first Serbia, then Bosnia and Herzegovina had fallen, it also became a Turkish province but retained much local autonomy. From 1807 till 1822 South Albania was practically independent under the rule of Ali Pasha. Albania was declared independent in 1913 after the Balkan Wars, and remained so until its invasion by Italy in April, 1939, when it again came under the suzerainty of another state.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania E61
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

Cloths.

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen (" platno ") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs; and " sukno ", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. " The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap ' zubun ', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* " The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material " (M.E.D.).

That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. " Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. " Costume of the Women of Zmiyagne " Sarajevo, 1926.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Bulgaria EE1

SECTION II.

CHAPTER VIII.

Y
A
175
636
B
A
184
291

Albania and Southern Yugoslavia. The Costumes worn by Men and Women.

After experiencing nearly five hundred years of Turkish rule it is not surprising to find that much of the costume in Albania and in southern Yugoslavia, which as far north as Pljevlja and Priboj was part of Turkey in Europe until 1913, if not actually Turkish in character shows very strong Turkish influence.

There is also much greater variety in the garments worn by the hill tribes and the peasants and the townsfolk, therefore in the description of those in the collection it has been found advisable to group specimens on some of the Plates so as to give an indication of a complete costume such, for example, as that of the Bulgarian woman from Monastir (Bitolj) (Plate IX), the Catholic woman from Scutari (Plate V) and the essential parts of a woman's dress from Zadrima (Plate X).

A
291
177

Franz, Baron Nopcsa says that as early as 1912 international European dress had begun to be adopted, more particularly by the men, the young Catholics of Scutari deprecating the older styles, and wearing a combination of European garments with the older head-dress, the fez, and shoes. The younger women also have to some extent discarded the wide trousered skirt and the veil; therefore as all the specimens in this collection belong to the period previous to 1914 they represent native dress when it had its own individuality and, as such, will become increasingly valuable as records.

The following short lists of garments worn by women and men in some of the different districts have been compiled from the collection, and from the works of Baron Nopcsa* and Max Tilke†.

A Catholic woman from Scutari would wear:

(a) A shirt ("kmis") with sleeves, sometimes gathered at the wrist, either short in the body or of three-quarter length.

(b) A full-trousered skirt, often of striped silk, similar to the Moslem example on Plate VIe or "enormous baggy trousers formed of a very wide and much gathered skirt of imported, glazed, purple-black calico, the lower edge of which was sewn together leaving a hole at each corner for the feet. This was not really a trouser, as the legs were not divided, and was very cumbrous" (M.E.D.).

(c) Some form of girdle, either striped silk or a long strip of material with embroidered ends (Plate XVIF).

(d) A sleeveless coat ("giubba") with full skirt reaching to the knees (Plate XIII).

(e) A square of dark or light cloth as a head-dress, or a large net or gauze, embroidered veil, the latter being worn by married women only.

* Franz, Baron Nopcsa: "Albanien, Bauten und Geräte." Berlin, 1935.
† Max Tilke: "The Costume of Eastern Europe." London, 1926.

[Text continues on p. 36]